

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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1. WE FULLY RECOGNIZE IMPORTANCE OF BEING RESPONSIVE TO KAGEI'S QUESTION RE JAPANESE SECURITY SHOULD US- JAPAN MST CEASE FOR ANY REASON TO BE IN FORCE. POINTS OUTLINED PARA 2 OF REFTEL SEEM APPROPRIATE FOR PURPOSE WITH CERTAIN MODIFICATIONS SPELLED OUT BELOW.

2. RE SUB- PARAGRAPH 2 A, WE ASSUME EMBASSY WILL EMPHASIZE THAT SITUATION HYPOTHESIZED BY KAGEI SEEMS IMPLAUSIBLE. BASIC ASSUMPTION BEHIND US POLICY TOWARD JAPAN IS THAT
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PEACE AND STABILITY IN ASIA DEPEND IN LARGE MEASURE ON THE STABILITY OF US- JAPANESE RELATIONS. MAINTENANCE OF THIS RELATIONSHIP IN TURN CLEARLY RELIES ON CONTINUING COOPERATION IN THE SECURITY FIELD WHICH IS REFLECTED IN THE MST. THE MST, OF COURSE, MAKES NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN NUCLEAR AND NON- NUCLEAR ATTACK. WE RECOGNIZE THAT MST IS THE ONLY TREATY OBLIGATION BINDING THE US TO COME TO JAPANESE DEFENSE. HOWEVER, AS RECENTLY AS MAY 3, 1973, PRESIDENT NIXON STATED IN HIS US FOREIGN POLICY

REPORT THAT " WE SHALL PROVIDE A SHIELD IF A NUCLEAR POWER THREATENS THE FREEDOM OF A NATION ALLIED WITH US OR OF A NATION WHOSE SURVIVAL WE CONSIDER VITAL TO OUR SECURITY."

3. RE SUB- PARAGRAPH 2 B, WHILE JUNE 1968 SC RESOLUTION (255) AND US ASSURANCES CERTAINLY WOULD APPLY TO JAPAN, MUTUAL SECURITY INTERESTS AND CLOSE TIES OF JAPAN AND US CLEARLY PLACE JAPAN IN DIFFERENT CATEGORY FROM MANY OTHER NON- NUCLEAR- WEAPON STATES. THIS DISTINCTION HAS BEEN POINTED OUT TO JAPANESE IN PAST CONVERSATIONS ABOUT NPT, AND WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO REITERATE POINT. HOWEVER, EXISTENCE OF VETO POWER, AND MORE SPECIFICALLY QUESTION OF PRC ATTITUDE, ARE REASONS NOT TO RELY TOO HEAVILY IN RESPONSE TO KAGEI ON SC RESOLUTION. IN ADDITION TO DRAWING GENERAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN JAPAN AND MANY OTHER NON- NUCLEARS IN TERMS OF JAPAN- US MUTUAL INTEREST EMBASSY SHOULD NOTE THAT SC RESOLUTION AND US ASSURANCES IN NO SENSE, NEITHER POLITICALLY NOR LEGALLY, LIMIT US ACTION IN EVENT OF NUCLEAR THREAT OR ATTACK AGAINST NON- NUCLEAR WEAPON STATE. THIS WAS MADE EXPLICITLY CLEAR IN SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE HEARINGS ON NPT IN FEBRUARY 1969. AS SUMMARIZED IN STATE 27966 (UNCLASSIFIED), " DURING COURSE OF HEARINGS IT WAS MADE CLEAR THAT SECURITY ASSURANCES RESOLUTION AND DECLARATION WHICH THROWS MATTER TO SECURITY COUNCIL AND THEREFORE CAN BE STYMIED BY SC VETO, IS NOT EXCLUSIVE REMEDY FOR NON- NUCLEAR VICTIM OF NUCLEAR THREAT OR ATTACK. US CAN STILL COME TO ASSISTANCE OF NON- NUCLEAR

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VICTIM UNDER ARTICLE 51 OF UN CHARTER, AND ALSO OF COURSE THROUGH OBLIGATIONS OF EXISTING SECURITY AGREEMENTS."

4. TO DOCUMENT REAFFIRMATION BY PRESENT ADMINISTRATION OF US POLICY ON SECURITY GUARANTEES (REFTEL PARA 3), EMBASSY MAY WISH TO QUOTE SECRETARY ROGERS' STATEMENT OF FEB 18, 1969 TO SFRC: " MY UNDERSTANDING OF THE

EFFECT AND SIGNIFICANCE OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 255 (1968) AND THE RELATED US DECLARATION IS IN COMPLETE ACCORD WITH THAT EXPRESSED IN THE COMMITTEE' S REPORT ON THE TREATY LAST SEPTEMBER." (PAGE 38, DOCUMENTS ON DIS-ARMAMENT, 1969.) SFRC REPORT REFERRED TO BY SECRETARY ROGERS WAS CONSISTENT WITH PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION' S POSITION ON SECURITY ASSURANCES.

5. IN ADDITION TO EMBASSY' S RESPONSE TO KAGEI, EA DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SNEIDER ALSO PLANS TO CONVEY FOREGOING TO JAPANESE EMBASSY HERE. RUSH

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